4: Silva--18 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

/292 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

• [854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 47. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1)), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

/434 cont./

*192 858 9th. -- After the giving of the name it is Buxtuyágõ or Buxtuyégõ (F. Buxtuyágo, Buxtuyégo, pl. Buxtuyãra, Buxtuyẽra);

10th. -- From six years of age more or less, until the initiation, it is Wi'mãgõ (F. Wi'mãgõ, pl. Wi'mãrá);

11th. -- From the time of the puberty initiation, the boy is called Ma'mã, and the maiden, Nõ'myó (this should not be confused with nũ'myó, woman);

12th. -- In order to indicate that it is already beginning to fill out in body, they use the expressions Nĩrí-bũxkõ or Nĩní-bõxkõ for the young man, Nĩrí-bũxkõõ for the maiden (pl. M. and F. nĩrí-bũxkõrá).

6) Education of the children.

• 854 Throughout early childhood the children of both sexes are in the mother's care. The baby will go from the hammock to the maternal arms, or of an older sister, and will sleep in the same hammock with its mother. The latter will give it her milk, later mingau of flour or of banana.

She takes her child to the bath in the morning, later to the clearing, where it will remain lying in a small hammock in the shade of a tree, or of some branch stuck in the ground, or under the eyes of some little sister, while the mother works.

Sun, rain, baths, insect bites, all will contribute toward enriching the delicate complexion and habituating that organism to resistance.

*[192] Returning home, with an aturá /carrying basket/ filled with mandioca roots on her back, the mother will carry her child against her chest, with the help of a wide embira hanging from her neck (it is the process that is called sã-wõã), or riding on her hip, sã-rẽã.

/479 cont./

512 [515] [854] *[192] or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river. Or, more precisely, [illegible]t point of the river called Pextá, landing place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them; and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill [312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

[521] [515] /480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] [264] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyá," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192]

1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹáti? Did you drink mingau?"

/480 cont./

512 with the beijú or in small cuias, like a spoon. At the end, the
*[192] woman presents a large cuia with Ñõxká (manicuera /drink made
[264] out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee, they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé, of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuia then being passed to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children simultaneously take their food.

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

*[192] The women with the older daughters and the children (small
[241] ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'ĩ (aturá), hanging from the forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood. In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes, some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

[462] The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one
•[854] o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles of firewood: the smaller children on their hips or held in front of the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring, with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú /carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and timber.

Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will prepare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect,
*[192] and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a'tyá" and the afternoon meal.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invitation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens. Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex, but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi* (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash, melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahukiwa* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 82). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to another, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.
[763]
844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
• 854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop
[828] a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédã*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urúhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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[157]

Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

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An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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Fig. 8 *Bahukiwa* mother and child

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Xudjiko and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks at the *oyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women. By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *oyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *oyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.